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# A P P E A L

TO THE

LOYAL CITIZENS

OF

D U B L I N, *Citizens of*

BY A FREEMAN

OF

D U B L I N.



*Dublin.*

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TO THE

LOYAL INHABITANTS

OF

DUBLIN.

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*Friends, and Fellow Citizens,*

**I**F there be any thing that can conciliate attention, or create confidence in the appellations with which I accost you, by that I adjure you, to give this address a patient hearing. I have the same interest with you in the subject of which it treats. Do not conclude that, because I may see it in a different light from that in which the generality of you seem to have considered it, I must be your enemy. If I am your enemy, I must be my own enemy, the enemy of all that ought to be dear to me. I may, perhaps, be wrong in my opinions ; but I can do you no injury by desiring you to hear what I have to say.

favour. If I cannot induce you to think with me, you will only be where you are.

I own I cannot see the wisdom or the prudence in listening only to one side of the question. In what transaction of trade, or business, would any of you think himself justifiable, if he refused to listen to a matter proposed to him for his advantage, with an attention equal to its importance, and to weigh well what might be urged for it as well as against it? Would it be right in him to consider it through no other medium than that of prejudice and violence, and passion? Or to run the risk of sacrificing his own best interests to the partial and selfish views of men having a different interest from his in the event?

On the advantages, or disadvantages, of an Union with England, the great bulk of you must take the opinions of others. The complicated interests that are involved in all such great political questions, require a very different line of application to that which you pursue. The wisdom of our constitution has provided, that all such questions should be discussed and settled by your two Houses of Parliament, advising the king's government. One of these Houses, is the creature and the organ of that description of the community, in which you are classed; it is peculiarly employed in watching over your interests, and providing for what will best promote and secure them. But, in the present question of an Union, the persons who, in the success of the measure, foresaw the destruction of a system which, for centuries, has sacrificed the peace and prosperity of the great body of the people of Ireland, to the power and grandizement of individuals, would not trust their



their cause to the great deliberative counsel, that thus represents you, when called upon by the father of his people, to remove this inveterate abuse, and to provide for the general happiness, without any regard to the usurpations of any peculiar description or class of men. They knew they could have no chance, if the matter was left to reason and argument, and plain sense: And, as it happened, unfortunately, that, from local circumstances, there was more room for misrepresentation in the effects which a Union might have on your city, than on any other part of the kingdom, they directed all their arts and intrigues against you. They laboured to separate you from your Parliament; they drove you to take this great question into your own hands, and to decide on it from the impulse of passions, which they had themselves excited.

To accomplish the triumph of passion over reason, and of rashness and precipitancy over caution and deliberation, a few factious words thrown in, as oil to a flame, are sufficient to produce an effect which it requires a long train of facts, and a lengthened chain of reason, to counteract and do away. Hence, "That Dublin must be ruined by the Union; its manufacturers deprived of bread, and its shopkeepers beggared"—Hence, "that grass should grow in Sackville-street; and that we should shoot snipes in College-green," has excited an universal frenzy from Kilmainham to the Pigeon-house; and every oyster-woman in the street cries out, that her trade will be ruined, and that Dublin is to be a desert.

This dreadful calamity is to be the unavoidable effect of the removal of our Parliament—so it is boldly asserted;

asserted; but, to give this assertion any weight, your agitators ought to prove to you, that the present state of your capital in buildings, in population, and in wealth, has been entirely owing to its being the seat of Parliament. If they can prove this, the question, no doubt, would be soon decided in their favour. But, if no proposition can be more false, or contrary to fact, then all the clamour they have raised on that pretext, has been the effect of gross misrepresentation, and an unpardonable abuse of the confidence you have placed in them.

I will now lay a ground for you to judge of this matter. From a survey made by order of Government in 1753, the increase of inhabitants in your city since 1711, was stated at 32,000. It was immediately after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, that the great increase began. No less than 1200 houses were that year on the Stocks at once. After the Peace of Paris in 1763, the increase was still greater. All this is within living memory. During the whole of these periods, and until 1782, the Parliament assembled only once in two years. They assembled even then only for a very short session. Every second winter the Members of either House were under no necessity of resorting to the capital in their character of Legislators. They never did resort to it in that character. Dublin, therefore, did not owe its flourishing state to the mere circumstance of having the seat of Parliament within its walls, and to account for it, you must look to some other causes.

Now, I take it, that what these causes are, it requires no great depth of observation to trace. I shall  
 class

class them as they appear to me, under four principal heads.

1st. Till within a period of about fifty years, our chief Noblemen, and our very wealthiest Commoners, resided chiefly at their country seats, exercising hospitality, and maintaining a constant intercourse with their friends and neighbours. Very few among them had a settled house in Dublin. Even the members of Parliament, during the short period of their alternate session, contented themselves with lodgings, or took up their temporary residence in those houses, which, since your modern improvements in building, have been consigned to the better sort of tradesmen and mechanics. The middling gentry scarcely ever visited the capital, except when dragged to it by a lawsuit, or some business of unavoidable exigency; and it was then considered as a great distinction for a family to take lodgings in town for a Parliament winter.

But, within the period I have mentioned, all this has been gradually changing. The country is deserted every winter, not only by our nobility and chief gentry, but by every family in what are called the genteeler ranks of life; and even among the wealthy of the other orders, there is an emulation of the manners and customs of their betters, that attracts them and their families into the same vortex of pleasure and dissipation.

2d. The commerce of the country, and its consequent wealth, have increased within the same period to a degree seldom equalled in the annals of any people. Dublin has necessarily had a commanding proportion



portion of their increase. Besides the demands of her own inhabitants, whether settled or occasional, she had the wealthiest counties of the kingdom to supply with many of the articles of the most necessary consumption, and with all the articles of luxury and refinement, whether of domestic or foreign produce. From her vicinity to the English Coast, and other local circumstances, she almost entirely engrossed all the objects of supply from Great Britain; and she had, besides, a monopoly of the many lucrative manufactures, either established of old within her precincts, or recently set up in her vicinity.

In proportion as her merchants, and others, improved their fortunes, they left the inconvenient Houses, built in other days for the mere purpose of business, to their clerks, or their subordinate partners, and they either built, or purchased, others more suited to their increased fortunes. They crowded into the streets and squares inhabited by persons of the highest rank; and they vied with them in shew, equipage, and all the luxury of entertainment. The relaxation of the Popery laws, and the liberty allowed to Roman Catholics to take leases for ever, and to purchase fee simple estates, greatly contributed to this emigration from the old to the new city; and, although it was apprehended that the quays, and other quarters, where persons of this description formerly resided, might suffer by the change, the fact proved that the houses in those quarters had even increased in value, and were instantly re-occupied.

The wealthiest, and the more enterprising shopkeepers, were equally anxious, though from other views,



views, to pursue the course of fashion, as it shifted its abodes. The Liberty, and the old city, were left to new occupiers ; and the builders could scarcely run up houses with sufficient celerity, to answer the impatience of tradesmen, contending for situations in the new streets.

3d. The increase of wealth, causing an increase in the transfer, and shifting of property of every kind, necessarily multiplied the members of the Bar, and all that description of persons who live by the Law. These men, with their families, are, by their profession, obliged to reside where the Courts of Law are permanent. They too, as they rise, quit the quarters of the city inhabited of old by the profession. They move from the old streets to the new, in a gradual progress with their business, and the succession, daily encreasing in its numbers, is never known to fail. In their train appear their clients, collected from every part of the kingdom, leading after them all who are necessary to their respective causes ; and this great influx rolls incessantly into your capital at stated periods throughout the year.

4th. You have a Vice-Royal Court established in the centre of your city, of very great state and splendour, such as becomes the dignity of the nation.— This Court is at once the seat of fashion, and the seat of the government—In all that is connected with the refinements of pleasure—in all that is connected with the state—in all establishments, whether civil or military—in the different public offices : the exchequer, the treasury, the customs, the post-office, in the great directing departments of the army ; in the various boards, as well for general purposes as for the

internal regulation of the city, in whatever is connected with the government, the revenue, the police of the country,——all have contributed to the present extent, beauty, population, and wealth of the capital.

These I take to be among the principal causes of your present flourishing state. They are obvious to yourselves. Now, the question is, to see how they are to be affected by removing the seat of Parliament. How will that circumstance tend either to rob you of these sources of your prosperity, or to interrupt their operation? If it can be proved, not merely by any speculations, but by evidence not to be resisted, that they are totally unconnected with the residence of your Parliament, and that in no possible way they can be affected by its removal to any other part of the empire, you will judge of the alarm into which you have been thrown, and you will be enabled fairly to estimate the motives of those who have raised it.

In carrying on this inquiry, I will reverse the order in which I classed the different heads.

The Union is to make no change in the establishment of your Vice-Royal Court; it is still to distinguish and adorn your city, and to remain among you in all its splendour, and with all its state. It will still continue to draw within its circle, from every part of the kingdom, the rank and the fashion, the gaiety and the amusement, that contribute their part in giving employment to your tradesmen and manufacturers, and that require your present supply, as well of the luxuries as of the necessaries of life. You are to have your Lord Lieutenant at the head of his present extensive and splendid establishment. You are

are to have your exchequer, your treasury, your civil and war offices, your post-office, your board of customs, in all its highest as well as lowest offices, in all the numerous ramifications into which it branches out. The various departments connected with the regulation of the army, with its clothing and victualling, and the several boards they include, will still be permanent amongst you; and it would be an idle abuse of your time to detail to you the advantages you are to continue to derive from the numbers, as well of commissioners of the first rank and consequence, as of other officers of a more subordinate description, attached to so diversified an establishment, or the consumption they create.

Your courts of law are still to be stationary in your capital. Its great officers, with all their train, its judges, its members of every name and description, must necessarily reside among you, and with them their crowds of clients and litigants, increasing with the increased wealth of the nation, will continue to pour regularly into your streets.

With respect to your commerce, your trade, and your manufactures, I have heard much declamation, but not one word of rational investigation or inquiry. In the very outset of this business, and before the terms of the Union could be submitted to Parliament, your merchants and your bankers were amongst the first to assemble, and declare their opinions against the measure. They gave to the public, with all due solemnity, the resolutions on which they agreed. You would, naturally, have expected that they should have entered into some investigation of the trade of the country, as it was likely to be affected by the Union: That they would have told you how the mercantile,



and manufacturing interests were to be injured by it. Not a word of the kind appeared upon the face of their proceedings. They gave you a string of political maxims, and prescribed the form of all those violent and inflammatory resolutions, which, without the interference of cooler heads and wiser men, would have long ere this deluged your streets in blood,

An interval of investigation and reflection produced that fortunate change of opinion on the subject in other parts of the kingdom, that obtained a majority in favour of the measure in Parliament, in January last, and the terms were detailed and proposed for discussion. What was the conduct of your agitating Merchants and Bankers in consequence? Did they calmly and dispassionately weigh these terms? Did they give themselves time or leisure to enquire how they were to affect the mercantile interests of the kingdom at large, and particularly of this great commercial City? Nothing of the kind appeared in their new resolutions. The terms were no more mentioned by them, or alluded to, than if they were still to be conjectured and guessed at for condemnation and abuse by the committee of scribbling lawyers, who excited your passions to frenzy. They continued to address you in the same stile of declamation without reasoning, of assertion without proof, and of menace and violence without prudence or discretion, which disgraced their meetings in the beginning of the last Session of Parliament.

They tell you, indeed, what it required none of these ghosts to tell you, that "the commerce of Ireland" and her manufactures have improved beyond example since the year 1782;" and hence they argue,



gue, that an Union will be their ruin. But how do they prove this? "Because it was the virtue of the  
 "Irish Parliament that established the Constitution  
 "of 1782. It is to that Constitution we owe all our  
 "commercial advantages and improvements: and if  
 "the Irish Parliament be removed, we must lose  
 "that Constitution and all its advantages together."

I will not here enter into a political investigation of the doctrine that asserts, that the Union is to annihilate the Constitution as settled in 1782. I confine myself in this Address to the consideration of the interests of your City, in the event of the measure. On this ground I assert, that it is not to the settlement of 1782, that Ireland owes her unexampled increase in her commerce and manufacture. The monopoly which England granted to our linens in her own market, and the bounties she gave on their re-exportation into, the very spring and fountain of our national wealth and prosperity, were granted long *before* that period. The grant of a participation in the commerce of the English colonies, the next great source of our prosperity, was *previous* to that period; how then can the Constitution, settled "by the virtue of the Irish Parliament" *at that period*, have been in any way instrumental in those signal instances of British liberality, or if you choose, of British Wisdom, that have laid the foundations of your present prosperity? The colonies were the purchase of the blood of England—they were the acquisition of her own treasures, the work of her own industry—they were her offspring, nurtured and matured by her into a state of manhood. She had entered into such a compact with them, as that relation authorised. She engaged herself to purchase their commodities, to the exclusion of all similar productions in every other country;

country; and they pledged themselves in return, to carry their commodities to no market but her's. A trade with them of any kind, or to any extent, was therefore a favor granted to Ireland by the British legislature. It is, therefore, to that favor, and not to the virtue of the Irish Parliament, that your merchants ought to have attributed the advantages which they so highly extol, and in which your capital has shared beyond any other part of the Kingdom.

There are, it is true, some other advantages, and those very considerable, by which the trade and commerce of Ireland have been benefited since the period of 1782; but, as they depended on England, it is to her Parliament, and not your's, that you are to attribute them. They were owing to the interference of the English ministers amongst you. They were extorted by no compulsion, no menaces from your Parliament, no alarming state of the public mind. They were concessions, which England saw were due to you in justice and sound policy. Hence the triumph of the anxiety of that country for the welfare of Ireland over her most ancient prejudices, when by *an act of her Parliament* she relaxed the system of her navigation laws in our favor; when by *an act of her Parliament* she permitted the productions of her colonies to be imported through Ireland into her home market;—hence the concessions she made by *an act of her Parliament* relative to the manufacture of sail cloth, from which this country had reason to expect such extensive benefits.

All these concessions, producing all the advantages, to which you are in so great a degree to ascribe the present flourishing state of your capital, your political

cal meeting of merchant agitators, would make you suppose were not concessions but extortions from England. They would represent them as conquests gained over her by the exertions of your virtuous representatives, when they asserted the independence of your legislature. I have laid undeniable facts before you, by which you may yourselves judge of the truth or falsehood of these assumptions. I will only observe to you, that if you had no separate legislature, you would have been many years previous to 1782 in possession of these and of every other source of wealth connected with the commerce of England. There would have been no room for demands on the one hand, or for concessions on the other. The wise policy of Cromwell had designed these blessings for you; and had not the Union he formed between the three kingdoms, as the most effectual means his great and comprehensive mind could devise to secure their solid and permanent interests, been, unfortunately, included among the regulations of this the most sagacious of all politicians, which were set aside at the Restoration, we should not have experienced any of the miseries that have so long retarded the advancement of our country.

But, supposing these insinuations to be founded—supposing that all these great advantages had been extorted from England—what then? How would this affect the present question? How are you to be deprived of them by the projected Union? They were extorted from England—Granted. But England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to ratify and confirm them to you for ever. They have all been granted under certain regulations and conditions; they are revocable by the same power that granted them, and no one will be hardy enough to maintain, that our two  
Houses



Houses could compel England to continue them to us. She now comes forward to relinquish all power of revoking them—she comes forward with a proposal to mix and blend all our political and commercial interests together, so as never hereafter to leave any room for those jealousies and misunderstandings, which have so often subsisted, and in the councils and proceedings of your agitators, at this moment subsist between the two countries, to change or abrogate. She offers to make them as much our own, as they are her own ; to invest us with as unalienable a right in them, as she herself possesses, and to impart to us a full and independent possession, not only of those, but all the other benefits of that commerce that has raised her to her present pre-eminence among the nations of Europe, and has made her the wonder and the envy of the world.

When the famous Irish Propositions were framed in this country, one of the principal sources of wealth they proposed to open to you, was, what was called the Channel Trade. By the arrangements then in contemplation for accomplishing this object, not only the English market would be open to us for those productions and manufactures of our own, on the importation of which into England, there are duties amounting to a prohibition, but also several articles wanting in our markets, and essential to our manufactures, on the exportation of which from England to this country, high duties are laid, or with duties considerably lowered.

It cannot, as yet, be forgotten in what sounding terms certain persons amongst us extolled the advantages which Ireland was to derive from the regulations



tions thus proposed in 1785. I will not enter into details. Their \* speeches are printed, and to them I refer you for what those gentlemen thought of the Propositions, as they were to affect the manufacture of your cottons, your worsted and mixed stuffs, your low woollens, as they were to secure you against all future prohibitions on coals, rock-salt, bark, tin, hops, and other articles, most of which could be got only from England.

It now suits the views and interests of those very men to depreciate what they so highly extolled. They represent the boon now offered to us by England, although heightened by many additional advantages of the greatest magnitude beyond what were proposed in that day, as of no value. They are men of great versatility of parts, of great ingenuity, plausible, insinuating; they will never be at a loss to represent what they wish you to believe in the most imposing colours. But your plain sense would tell you, if you would but give it fair play, that what it was madness to reject in 1785, as they then asserted it was, it cannot be wisdom to reject, when in 1800 it is again offered, highly enhanced in its value, and with many additional advantages; that what was to procure you only conditional benefits, granted by a Power that was independent of you, on a Treaty of Commerce, which although calling itself final, depended on the will and caprice of the respective Legislators, and which was formed on terms that might not be observed on either side, cannot be of equal value, as when these advantages are made your own in full, and, I may say, natural en-

\* See the Speech of the Right Honourable JOHN FOSTER, on the Irish Propositions, in the printed Debates, taken down by WOODFALL, and revised by the different Speakers, as Mr. Woodfall asserts.

joyment and fruition, depending on no conditions; secured to you exactly in the same manner as they are secured to the country that grants them to you; and that if there is any change, it must be in the interests and views of these men, and not in the thing itself.

But leaving these Hon. Gentlemen to reconcile their own inconsistencies, and to answer for them to their country, whose confidence in them they abuse to deceive and mislead, I shall content myself with laying before you what I conceive to be the strongest proofs, that in many of the manufactures, in which Dublin is most interested, the opening of the English market, under the proposed terms of the Union, will become to you a source of encreasing wealth and prosperity. I will submit to you the opinions of the best judges on the question; the depositions given at the bar of the House of Commons of England, by the most wealthy English manufacturers, in their interested and selfish alarm at the proposal of throwing open the English market to the manufacturers of Ireland.

Mr. Robert Peele, a Calico manufacturer and printer, deposed, that he then paid, in excise duties, twenty thousand pounds per annum. From this circumstance you will form some judgment of the extent to which he carried on this manufacture, and his opinions will have a proportionate weight with you. This gentleman being asked what he conceived would be the effect of permitting the articles in which he dealt to be imported from Ireland into the British market, answered, "If the  
"Irish are allowed to send their goods to the English  
"market, they will not only injure us in our home trade,  
"but we have great reason to fear, that they will draw  
"so

"so much ready money from this country, as to enable  
 "them to give credit to foreign countries, and very ma-  
 "terially injure that trade."—Being asked if Eng-  
 land had not a superiority in the cotton manufactures?  
 he answered, "The superiority, if we have it, is of  
 "that nature, that it can be easily removed into a neigh-  
 "bouring kingdom; and so much am I satisfied of it,  
 "that since the Irish resolutions came before the House,  
 "I have wrote to a principal house in Ireland, to have a  
 "connexion with it, *for the purpose of supplying the con-*  
 "*sumption of England.*" He was asked, if England  
 could lose her cotton manufacture in any way but by  
 the loss of her industry? he answered, "That he thought  
 "England might lose her manufactory, by the English  
 "manufacturer of property employing his capital in  
 "Ireland. *That he would certainly employ it there himself,*  
 "*if the British market should be opened to Ireland. That*  
 "*he had heard many persons in the manufacture declare the*  
 "*same intentions; and his own determination was to remove*  
 "*part of his manufacture, and employ part of his capital*  
 "*there immediately.*"

This gentleman, from having been a witness at the  
 bar of the House of Commons, is now a member of it;  
 having by his industry, and his spirit of commercial en-  
 terprise, raised himself to that honourable distinc-  
 tion. In his speech on the Union, which he has printed,  
 he maintained the same opinions which he delivered in  
 1785.—He acknowledged that the principal manufac-  
 turing towns in England would be injured by the mea-  
 sure; but with all the enlarged views of a British mer-  
 chant and legislator, he preferred the general interests to  
 all local considerations.

Mr.

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Mr. Joseph Smith, a gentleman in the same business, and who also paid upwards of twenty thousand pounds in excise, made similar depositions; and expressed similar intentions of employing his capital in Ireland; and he, as well as Mr. Peele, supported their opinions on this subject by reasons, which it would swell this Address to too great a length to transcribe from the printed evidence.

Mr. Thomas Walker, one of the wealthiest men in the fustian trade, and who was delegated by the town of Manchester to look to the interests of that trade, being asked, if he did not think that on the cotton manufacturers of Ireland having the English market open to them, they would undersell the manufacturers at Manchester. He answered: "In the fustian trade, in which I am concerned, I have no doubt that they could at this time do it; and I have every reason to believe that in a short time they would undersell us in other articles." The same he said of the cheque trade, and of the small ware trade, that is, tapes, garters, bindings, &c. &c.—and he added, that he had been told by the first manufacturer in Manchester in the silk way, "that if the Irish resolutions, as they affected the home market, were to pass into a law, he could not carry on his trade in England."

Mr. Walker further read a letter he had received from Mr. Thomas Smith, of Manchester, in which was this passage:—"The number of hands employed in the small ware manufacture may be three thousand, who will be soon compelled to emigrate, if the English market be opened to Ireland. *For my own part, I cannot hesitate a moment to declare my firm intention of going to Ireland.*"

Depositions



Depositions and declarations of a similar nature were made before the English House of Commons on this occasion by the silk-weavers, and the workers in mixed silks; by the stationers and paper manufacturers; by persons engaged in the export of shoes; by tanners; by saddlers; by the manufacturers of cut glass and earthen-ware; by the iron-mongers; by the soap-boilers and tallow-chandlers; but I pass these to come to the evidence laid before the House in support of a petition from the low woollen and the worsted stuff manufacturers. This petition stated it as the unanimous opinion of these manufacturers, that the opening of the English market to similar articles of manufacture in Ireland, would be highly injurious to that trade; that they employed in their manufacture large quantities of Irish yarn, as Irish wool was particularly well adapted for making such goods, and as they could not procure sufficient English yarn for the extent to which they then carried on the manufactory; that, therefore, if the English market, in which there was the greatest demand for such goods, as they formed the chief dress of the manufacturing and labouring orders, should be opened to Ireland, the Irish manufacturers would, of course, work upon their own materials; and having them at a rate so disproportionably cheaper, they could not fail to undersell the English manufacturer in his own market, even if there was nothing else in their favour. The purport of this petition was supported by the evidence of Mr. Richard Sharp, a considerable woollen and worsted manufacturer; and he concluded his deposition by observing, "that he had it from the best possible information, that shalloons wrought in Ireland were better than any that were ever manufactured at Rumsey, which

“ which is the best manufactory in England, and that it  
 “ was brought considerably lower.”

But it was not only the manufacturers of low woollens and worsted stuffs that were thus alarmed: the manufacturers of the finer cloths came also forward to express their fears. It was not, they said, that they were under any apprehension that this branch of the manufacture would be immediately affected by the new system, as the Irish manufacturer was not as expert as the English. But these reflecting men did not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by that specious argument, which you all admit implicitly, and by which you are chiefly misled, that under our *present* circumstances, and in the *present* state of our manufactures, we cannot pretend to meet the English manufacturer in his market, or suffer him to come into our own. To enable us to do so, is the great object of the proposed Union, as it was then of the *original* Irish Propositions; and it was under this impression that the woollen manufacturers stated, that from the vicinity of the two countries, the facility with which skilful English weavers might pass into Ireland, and the great encouragement that would not fail to be given to them, this advantage, from the inferiority in the Irish finer cloths, would not long subsist. As to the raw material, England would possess no advantage over Ireland in that essential particular. Ireland makes cloths of her own wool, as high as twelve shillings a yard.— This wool is fit to mix with the Spanish wool, in the same way as the finer and coarser English wools are mixed with it to make the second cloths. The fine cloths of the Devizes, and the country about it, are entirely made of the Spanish wool. This the Irish manufacturer can purchase in the same way as the English; he

he pays only the same original price for it, but he procures it at a less expence of freight. From all these circumstances, the woollen manufacturers concluded, that if the Irish manufacturers had not yet turned their attention to any plan of improving their manufacture of fine woollen cloths, to an extent to alarm England, it was chiefly because the exclusion from the British market gave them no encouragement to divert any part of their capital that way; but they contended, that when the British market should be opened to them, with all the encouragement of shorter conveyance, quicker sale, and speedier returns than the other markets could afford them, they would speedily have their proportion with the British manufacturer in this, the great object of their wishes.

If such were the apprehensions of these manufacturers from the proposed treaty of 1785, under which the exports of British wool were to remain prohibited, what would they have felt, if, as is to be the consequence of the Union, the staple commodity of English wool, that lasting object of English jealousy, had been conceded to Ireland, and secured to the Irish manufacturer for ever? and the British market opened to Irish wools of all kinds at low duties.

The last manufacturers whom I shall mention as having come forward on this alarm, are the manufacturers from Norwich. From their evidence it appeared that they could buy in Norwich such Irish worsted yarn as is essential to that manufacture, cheaper than the English, although it was subject to four or five duties before it reached them, and was also subject to the expence of the voyage, and of the carriage, in addition  
to

to the internal duties in Ireland. From these circumstances, one of their manufacturers deposed, that upon a fair and just calculation, Ireland could manufacture her worsted yarn, in similar articles, 45. per cent. cheaper than England. Was it not, therefore, he said, obvious to conclude, that Ireland would turn her attention immediately to this manufacture, and that either the Irish or the English capitalists would be able to undersell England even in her own market?

If I were to write volumes in answer to the men whose views it now suits to depreciate the opening of the English market to our manufactures, and to whom, through all their self-contradictions, you are infatuated enough to give implicit unenquiring credit, I could not do it so effectually as by submitting to you the opinions and declarations of persons so deeply interested in the question, and so competent to decide upon it. They did not require to be told, that if the English market was to be thrown open to Ireland, the Irish market would be equally thrown open to England; they knew it, but they also knew, that in many essential branches of manufacture they possessed no superiority over us; and that in those in which they excelled, it was the very object of the system to raise us to a level with them, and that this would be its necessary operation.

The event is too recent that you should be reminded of it. The jealousy of the English manufacturers, and the clamours of the opposition in this country, prevailed with the English parliament. It refused to confirm the settlement to which the parliament of Ireland had carried it; and Ireland rejected it, as it was sent back altered and amended by the Minister.

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But the system of the proposed Union, as it is to affect your trade and your manufactures stands upon very different ground, and holds out much higher advantages. I will proceed to state this to you, and to apply all I have advanced on that subject to the particular interest of your city.

Besides the jealousies of the English manufacturers, alarmed at the introduction of the manufactures of Ireland into their own market, there were many other objections on the part of England to the ratification of the propositions in 1785, in the original form in which they had passed both our Houses of Parliament. These objections principally arose from the nature of the connexion between the two countries. A most formidable rival was to be admitted into the markets of England, without any security that this rival should contribute any adequate part to the expences, by which that market was to be sustained and protected. Ireland, under the operation of the original propositions, could not make a single acquisition without a proportionate loss to England. She would injure her revenues in proportion as she either encroached upon, or brought over to herself the principal objects of customs and excise; and England would in her turn, become the complaining sister. England, therefore, rejected the system, unless under some controul from her own Parliament consulting her particular interests. This, in the pride of her new settlement, her new constitution, as it is called of 1782, Ireland refused, as encroaching upon her independence, and for this your Parliament was branded with every imputation of ridicule and folly, and besottedness, by the principal framer

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of those propositions, who, in a late speech, has disclaimed and vilified them.

But I have already said that I shall leave this gentleman to reconcile his inconsistencies to himself and to his country, in the best way he can. However highly advantageous the system he then framed and upheld would have been to this nation, the proposed system of the Union stands upon very different grounds. In your trade and commerce, as in your religious dissensions, it is calculated to confer every benefit, and procure every indulgence, without the dangers by which every such concession might be attended under the present state of things. England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to abolish all dissensions, all clashing of interests. She comes forward with a proposal to cut off all the sources of jealousy and rivalry at once and for ever; to leave no further room for considerations of the more or the less, which either nation may gain on the other. She wishes to have but one market with you; and if there are any articles, in which, at present, her manufactures might possess an advantage over your's, she gives you the boon on such terms as may make it most beneficial to you; and agrees, that those manufactures should be protected by countervailing duties.

It is no longer a *bargain* that she proposes to make with you, as with a separate distinct state; as with a people whom she wishes to see enriched, though not at her own expence: She proposes that you should make her trade your own, and consents that all the sources of wealth she commands may be common to both.

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In return for all this she does not require of you, as has been falsely insinuated, that you should be burdened with a single shilling of her debt; and for the future expences of the empire, she consents to the ratification of a solemn unalterable agreement, by which you shall only pay such a proportion as your own resources, compared with her's, by unalterable criterions, can bear.

In aid of those resources, she proposes to grant you out of the revenues paid by the East India Company, from territories subdued by British arms, and which never cost you a farthing, 58,000*l.* a year. She proposes that the subjects, and the produce of either country, should be put upon an equal footing for ever, as to all privileges, encouragements, and bounties. This gives us the continuance *for ever* of the British and Irish bounties on the export of Irish linens, and affords a full participation in the great article of sail-cloth.—It is at present provided, that the sail-cloth used in the British navy, and the first set of sails used in British merchant-ships, should be of British manufacture; by the terms of the Union, no distinction will be made between Irish sail-cloth and British sail-cloth, and thus, in addition to the other great branches of our linen trade, we shall have the immense market arising from the British navy, and the supply of British shipping, open to a manufactory, the superiority in which, I need not observe to you, we are sure to command, both from the nature of our soil and the skill of our workmen.

From the regulations which England proposes, respecting the *export* from either country, Ireland must further  
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reap incalculable advantages. All articles are, for ever, to be exported duty-free. This provision secures to Ireland *for ever* the raw materials, which she receives from Great Britain, and which she can procure no where else. It secures to her *for ever* coals, tin, bark, allum, hops, and salt. Under it she will not only enjoy *for ever* the British markets for her linen trade, but she will receive the raw material of England for the improvement and extension of her woollen trade, at the same time that, by other regulations, she will have British bounties to favour the re-exports of the former, and low British duties to encourage the import of the latter.

With respect to future taxes, provision is to be made, that in no case the Imperial Parliament shall be enabled to impose higher taxes after the Union, upon any article in Ireland, than the same article shall be liable to in Great Britain; and with respect to debts, Ireland, so far from being charged a farthing of the existing debts of England, will have towards the payment of her own debt a saving of 1,000,000 a year in time of war, and of 500,000l. in time of peace.

Such, in part, is the Union which England offers you; yet the very men, (I cannot too often repeat it) who reproached Ireland with folly and infatuation for rejecting the system of 1785, on what they called the fanciful ground of entrenching on her independence, and from listening to a popular clamour, artfully raised for party views, are now the most violent in spiriting up Ireland to reject the Union, on grounds still more fanciful of encroaching on our independence, and by a popular  
clamour



clamour raised by interested and designing men to serve their own partial ends.

Is it possible that you can always submit to be imposed on by these men? That you can continue to give implicit credit to their assertions, without proof or argument, instead of examining and judging for yourselves, at least in such points as you are, yourselves, particularly competent to decide upon?

Are not most of the manufactures, on which I submitted to you the depositions and declarations of the English manufacturers, those in which your city is principally interested? Is it not within your city, or its vicinity, that they have been established of old? And is it not in your city and its vicinity, that they are still likely to be established, and carried on in their greatest extent?

Do you not form the point of immediate contact with England? Are you not then certain to become the emporium between the two kingdoms?—the repository where the manufactures and the produce of both countries shall be deposited for the regular supply of both? Look to the canals, that are already branching to every part of the kingdom from your city, as from a central point; through these you will have a speedy and cheap communication with the inland parts of the kingdom; through these you will convey every article of Irish manufacture, or Irish growth, into your warehouses, to be shipped to the English ports, and by the same canals you will float into the country the commodities  
you

you shall bring in return from England, as well as the produce of the colonial and foreign markets. These returns will be quick—English capital will flow in with them. It will diffuse itself through every description of your manufacturers—your principal merchants and traders, enriched by their proportion in the general encrease of commerce, as well as by their local advantages, will continue to extend and to embellish your city, and by the extensive increase of population which trade and manufacture can alone produce, and the increased consumption this population will require, they will necessarily raise the value of lands within your circuit and in your vicinity.

Your poor starving manufacturers in the Liberty will see their trade not only revived, but carried on to an extent hitherto unknown. They will be no longer left as wretched mendicants on the luxury and dissipation of your contracted circles of fashion, to solicit temporary employment from balls and assemblies, and castle galas, the miserable expedients to which you now look with exclusive confidence, and which you tremble to lose. They will feel the influence of that regular and uninterrupted demand, which feeds the thousands that are employed in the British manufactories; and, as occasional distress, and occasional want of employment so often drive them into disorder and riot, if not rebellion, the settled and increasing comforts of successful industry, fed by the same uninterrupted stream that feeds British industry, will restore them to quiet and peace.

But how can you be sure that British capital will flow in upon us in consequence of an Union? I have already laid before you the positive declarations to that effect

effect of the greatest English capitalists, looking forward to a settlement, infinitely less advantageous to them and you, than that now proposed. But there are other grounds on which you can yourselves form a judgment as to that point.

It is notorious that all the commerce of the world centers at this moment in England. It is notorious, that almost all the money in Europe has found its way there.

This enormous commerce now requires to be as enormously fed, and together with the unexampled annual demands of the government, for carrying on the public service on its present scale, enables the money-holder to employ his capital to the full gratification of his avarice. But when, on the conclusion of a peace, commerce will return in a great degree to its old channels ; when the minister will no longer require an annual loan of from eighteen to twenty millions, and the money-holder can no longer look to the present wants of the government, and the present profits or government securities to employ his money, where can this redundancy of capital discharge itself ? Trade in England has been long gorged ; manufacture is full in all its branches ; land is at its highest price.—Will an Englishman ever look to France, or Germany, or Spain, or Italy, or any part of the Continent, for his establishment ? Will he expose himself and his family, and his property, on an adventure to America, in preference to a nearer settlement ? No ; this immense accumulation must overflow upon *us* ; it must throw itself on *our* commerce, *our* manufactures, *our* lands.

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But it will be asked, might it not do so equally under our present establishment, as under the system of an Union? Certainly not. The idea of security will be wanting. At present no Englishman will advance a single guinea for your loans, unless the payment of the interest be guaranteed to him by his own Parliament. The idea of peace, and tranquillity, and good order, will be wanting. At present there is not an Englishman who does not consider Ireland as in a state of actual rebellion, and who is not impressed with a conviction, that as long as we have a legislature separate and distinct from the legislature of England, we must ever be exposed to those internal dissensions and divisions that have so long convulsed our wretched country, and retarded her advancement. But give them a Union—let them see that the country is *one*, the state *one*, the legislature *one*, and you will give the English capitalists the same trust and confidence, and security, with a conviction of which they are impressed under their own Parliament: There will be then nothing left to check their speculation.—They will have here no Income Tax, no Horse Tax, no Dog Tax, no Powder Tax, no Armorial Bearing Tax, no Poor Rates, no Land Tax—they will have labour at a cheaper price, provisions at a cheaper price, land at a cheaper rate of purchase. On these advantages they will speculate, and the enterprising spirit of British industry will, by degrees, diffuse its blessings through every class of our people.

And yet, you are to be deceived, and talked out of these prospects. You are to be imposed on by false statements, and amused by fanciful calculations, from the desks of political barristers, on many of whom you  
would



would think a guinea thrown away in conducting a simple suit for a book-debt. In opposition to all the advantages I have detailed to you, these men affect to calculate to a fraction what money is to be spent out of the kingdom at large, and out of your city in particular, by a given number of noblemen and gentlemen residing for a part of the year in England. As if a far greater number than your proposed representation did not, under the present system, reside there every year for a longer period than their attendance on their parliamentary duty can require, as if the troubles, which have lately agitated, and threaten again to agitate this ill-fated country, did not drive, and must not continue to drive more families out of the kingdom, and out of your capital, than if both your Houses of Parliament were to emigrate in a body.

What miserable stuff have I seen thrust upon you in these crude calculations? So ignorant is one of the Barristers, who took the lead in this mode of deception, of every thing connected with the subject, that he supposes, that infinitely more money will be transmitted out of this kingdom, for the support of his emigrants each year, than our whole circulating specie amounts to.

But these dashing calculators boggle at no absurdity. They at once assume it as an indisputable fact, that all the proposed representatives of your nobility are for ever to desert their family seats, and all the splendor, all the comforts, by which they are there surrounded, that they are to abandon all care and attention to that property, by which alone they can be enabled to support their state, and to give up all attentions to those interests

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which have raised them to the pre-eminence they enjoy among their fellow-subjects.

They assume it as an indisputable fact, that your representative commoners, the great proportion of whom are, comparatively with those of England, men of moderate fortunes, will fix themselves and their families for their winter establishment in the British metropolis, and for the summer in some of the country parts of England, either to ruin their fortunes by an emulation in expence with the great English commoners, or to sink into a place below their natural level, and mix with a society for which they and their wives, and their children, are unfitted by their education and their habits.

They assume it as an indisputable fact that, like the representative nobles, they will abandon their property and their family estates to the management of others; that they will neglect all regard to their constituents, all the attentions they owe them, all means of conciliating a continuance of their favour, or of recommending themselves to their future support, by residing amongst them, by living with them in the interchange of the usual civilities of society and good neighbourhood, that produce affection, and secure esteem and confidence. They assume it as an indisputable fact, that they are to be followed by all our principal gentry leaving the capital, leaving their own estates to bankrupt merchants, starving shop-keepers, tillers of the ground, without a market for their produce, mechanics without work, and labourers without employment.

it in simplicity itself to be amused by such suppositions? It was by similar deceptions that the people of Edinburgh suffered themselves to be misled and inflamed at the time of the Union with Scotland "against all manner of reasoning," says an eye-witness in his history of that transaction, "against nature, against interest, fighting against their approaching freedom, insulting the promoters of their happiness, and with inexpressible uneasiness receiving the blessings of universal peace."—Yet what has been the event? The city of Edinburgh is tripled in point of extent since the Union. It is computed that within these last thirty years the new buildings, public and private, the new streets and squares, have cost above two millions sterling.—The public offices, the courts of justice, the register-house, the offices of excise and customs, the new university, the theatres, assembly rooms, bridges, &c. do not yield in magnificence to those of any capital in Europe. Can what has enriched Edinburgh impoverish you? Edinburgh was proud and poor, dissolute and idle, while she continued to be the seat of her parliament. From the day that by her Union with England, her parliament removed to the British capital, and became part of the Imperial legislature of Great Britain, her peace was secured, her trade and her commerce increased, her incitements to her nobility and principal gentry, to make her the residence of their families, were multiplied from day to day; and thus uniting the wealth of landed income, with the wealth of Commerce, and the expenditure of successful industry, with the expenditure of rank and state, she raises her head among the most beautiful and flourishing capitals of Europe.

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Where the circumstances are the same, the same consequences will follow; and the removal of her parliament will no more operate against Dublin, than it has operated against Edinburgh. You, with your Union, start from a more advanced post; you are already, as far as the splendor and the appearance of your capital go, what the Union has made Edinburgh, and in point of commerce you are greatly beyond what she was at that period; your progress, therefore, will be the more rapid and brilliant, in proportion to the greater advantages you enjoy. You will have an attraction for your nobility and gentry to resort to you, which Edinburgh had not, the court of your Lord Lieutenant; your courts of law will be more crowded in proportion to the more extensive population of your country, and its greater mass of fluctuating property; all the rank, and all the fashion of the kingdom will find in you from the outset those incitements to reside within your capital, which it took a number of years to procure to Edinburgh. They will continue to crowd to you in the winter, with their families, to enjoy that society, partake in those amusements, and procure those advantages for their children, as well with respect to their education, as to their establishment in life, which no other place can hold out to them. Your country towns are not like the great provincial towns in France, where these advantages collect the neighbouring gentry, instead of resorting to the capital; and be assured that your nobles, and wealthy commoners, will not revert to the manners of the last century, when they contented themselves with the hospitality of their respective country seats. They will still inhabit your streets and your squares, while, at the same time, your wealthy merchants, increasing daily in number, will exhibit to  
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you the state and splendor of that class in England, to which you have been hitherto strangers, and will soon indemnify you for the absence of a few titled men, who may chuse a fixed residence in England, and whose names, those of you who are shopkeepers, are now so wonderfully proud to see figuring on your books.

#### A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.



#### P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE this APPEAL went to the Press, the opposers of the Union have poured in upon the bar of the House of Commons a number of manufacturers, to shew how ruinous the measure must prove to their respective branches of trade. Having exhausted all their ammunition of bar eloquence, all their stores of threats, and invective, and abuse, they bring forward this new engine of opposition, as their last desperate attempt to drive the people, and particularly the inhabitants of your city, into *active* resistance to the measure. The evidence of these men, as it was to be expected, is equally prophetic of ruin and beggary to the country, as the petitions which preceded them, and you have had it retailed in all their inflammatory publications, and through all their agitating circles.

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For my own part, I see nothing in the depositions of these men, to make me change opinions I have delivered; I see nothing in their evidence, but the same misrepresentations with which the proposed Union has been exhibited to your view, since the first discussion of the question; I see nothing in it, but a sympathy of alarm, for a monopoly of the several manufactures on which these men are engaged, with those who tremble for the danger, that hangs over another species of manufacture, in which a monopoly has long been enjoyed to the detriment of the country at large—I mean the manufacture of political power, and political consequence; a most lucrative branch of trade, by which so many of the great leading Anti-Unionists have enriched themselves, and their connexions; and in which the rest, encouraged by their example, have greedily embarked, and which they tremble to lose.

In proof of what I assert, let us take the cotton manufacturers. What is the purport of their evidence?—“That they must be protected by duties, to the amount of 50 per cent. against the British manufacturer, or that the trade must be ruined.” That *their* trade, that is their monopoly, must be ruined, I readily grant, but that the manufacture of cotton in this country must gain by it, I cannot entertain a doubt. This lucrative branch of business, which has been the source of so much wealth to Great Britain, will be no longer confined to the few individuals who have had capital sufficient to undertake it in this country, and who have been the little tyrants, instead of the protectors of it. It will be open to English capital, and English skill, from the moment  
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that the English manufacturer can see security for the property he shall embark in it, and a sufficient market for the sale of his wrought goods. The men who have made the most splendid fortunes in the several branches of this manufacture, and who carry it on to its greatest extent, have already declared their opinions to this effect; you have read their depositions and their determinations, faithfully selected from the evidence before the bar of the English House of Commons, as printed by authority. It is by these depositions, and these declarations, that this alarm has been raised; your political and manufacturing monopolists have equally caught it, and both, as you see, play with great dexterity into each others hands.

But, for God's sake, do you attend only to your own interests, and let me ask you, what is the mighty evil, either to the kingdom at large, or to your capital in particular, if these manufacturers should cease to have their goods protected against similar articles from England by a tax of fifty per cent. upon the consumption? That is, if they should cease to put fifty per cent. into their pockets, which they are to raise upon every one of you that buys and wears their goods? What general evil will accrue, if from encouraging competition, and introducing skilful workmen, which the English manufacturers, the persons immediately concerned, tell you must be the consequence of such regulations as the Union purpose, the public will be no longer obliged, and particularly the lower orders, to take whatever stuff these monopolists chuse to manufacture, and sell to the people, and when they cease to have so large a premium for precluding the public from  
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a larger and better market? Will your city lose in wealth or population, if, instead of two or three cotton manufactories, bringing in enormous profits to their conductors, at the expence of every person confined to the wear of their goods, by the exclusion of similar articles from England, you should have encouragement given to numbers to embark in the same business, either within your city or in its neighbourhood? Numbers, who by introducing capital and skill, would in a short time do away the disadvantages under which this ricketty manufacture has, from its first birth laboured in this country? Will your city lose in peace and good order, if the workmen engaged in the different branches of this business, instead of being in the absolute power of two or three companies, who can play into each other's hand, and reduce their wages, or discharge them altogether from employment, as it suits their temporary views, shall have always a choice of employers, and a certainty of work?

There is not one of these observations that does not equally apply to the other manufacturers, who have appeared at the bar of the House of Commons. They apply to all your dealers in commission; all your money jobbers, all who get rich by their enormous profits on the lower shop-keepers and tradesmen. How long then will you suffer yourselves to be deluded by interested men working upon your credulity, and taking advantage of the facility with which you listen to every deceiver that wishes to mislead you to his own purposes? How long will you lend your assistance to every monopolist, whether in trade or politics, whose object it is to sacrifice the public good to personal interests?



terests? Is it not notorious that the sugar refiners impose on every one of you the enormous charge of sixpence or seven-pence, sometimes eight-pence, for every pound of sugar you consume, beyond what that, now necessary of life is sold for by the English refiners? yet they also have had the effrontery to appear among the rest before Parliament, to claim a perpetuity in this robbery on the public; yet their claims have been backed by the whole gang of Anti-Unionists, who make you a party in this gross imposition on yourselves, and spirit you against a measure that puts an end to this scandalous monopoly—a monopoly that raises a greater tax upon the public than your Parliament would dare to impose on it. And what are the grounds? Blush to hear them. Because in this manufacture there are 20 proprietors, and about 220 workmen. In what contempt must the great mover of these puppets, the great Anti-Union shewman, hold your understandings, when he attempts such things!

A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.



